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of the military caste will be overcome and the privileged classes will be suppressed.

Commerce is becoming the paramount power in the civilized world, and in the present century we shall surely witness the suppression of militarism. Witness the fact that by the united action of the Chambers of Commerce of Great Britain, France and Italy, the governments of these countries have been, if one may use the expression, willingly compelled to enact treaties of arbitration by which a very large part of the previous causes of war will be removed to the courts for a judicial decision.

There is one other great movement by which the peace of the world may be almost assured, which it is now time for the forces of commerce to take up and carry to its completion. It may at first seem visionary, but it is in fact simple, practical and sure of being sustained by all the states and nations that have recently entered into treaties of arbitration.

In the last century it became necessary or expedient to establish neutral zones on land and water: Belgium and Switzerland were neutralized; the Suez Canal has been and the Panama Canal will be neutralized. But the most conspicuous example of practical neutralization is found upon our own continent and on our own borders. In the last war between Great Britain and the United States, the War of 1812, two of the contests of the most vital importance were between the small navies of the Great Lakes that separate the United States from the Dominion of Canada. In these contests the Americans were successful; the British vessels were nearly all destroyed, and the American vessels, most of which had been hastily improvised, were badly shattered. In order to meet the future dangers, the United States laid down the keels of a new navy and began to construct it. England was preparing to follow. In 1816 John Quincy Adams was appointed United States Minister to the Court of St. James. He proposed to the Foreign Office that neither nation should build or maintain vessels of war upon these Great Lakes. Presently he returned to become Secretary of War under President Monroe. He then entered into a simple agreement, not even making a formal treaty with the British Foreign Office, on the lines which he had suggested. The President submitted this agreement to the Senate for approval, providing that there should be no naval force or armed vessels on the Great Lakes, recommending it in these words, "in order to avoid collision and save expense." And now since 1817 the only vessel of war that has appeared upon those lakes was a model of the warship "Massachusetts," built of brick and furnished with wooden guns, at the Chicago Exposition [laughter], the least costly and the most useful ship of war that we ever had in our service. [Applause.]

Now, my friends, the greatest waterways of commerce are not upon the lakes; they are upon the Atlantic Ocean. The ferry ways are well defined, marked on all the charts; winter and summer routes are laid down from all our ports to the harbors of Western Europe. Why not, "in order to avoid collision and to save expense," neutralize these ferry ways? Why not enter upon treaties among the states that border upon the seas, defining neutral zones and uniting navies in the useful purpose of protecting the commerce and maintaining the neutrality of those zones? [Applause.] Is that visionary? Not

half as visionary as it would have been a few years ago to have proposed the treaties of arbitration now existing. It needs only the common sense and sagacity and force of the business men of the different countries to compel the neutrality of the ferry ways on the high seas, where the Peace of God shall be kept [applause], by force if necessary.

Lay out, if you please, a cock-pit outside the neutral zone, and let those who make the wars and who think that warfare develops manhood man their steel-clad coffins and meet in the cock-pit and sink each other's battleships — except one, to be put away as a monument to the skilled inventor, who is perhaps doing more to make war impossible than even we, the advocates of peace.

These ways of commerce may be made neutral and safe always for commerce. There is nothing lacking but the will. It is time for the men of business to assert the power, to demand in the name of common sense, common sagacity, common industry, common right and common wealth, that the curse of war shall cease. And then will come the day so eloquently pictured by Gladstone, when the ships that pass between this land and that shall be like the shuttle of the loom, weaving the web of concord among the nations. [Applause.]

The Labor Movement and Peace.

Address of Samuel Gompers on Taking the Chair at the Workmen's Meeting held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Oct. 5, 1904, in connection with the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress.

Mr. McNeil, Ladies and Gentlemen: Permit me to express my keen appreciation, Mr. Chairman, of your kind words and commendation of whatever effort I have been able to give to the labor movement of our country and of our time, and also to you, ladies and gentlemen, for your more than cordial reception. I am especially pleased to have the honor of presiding over you this evening in Faneuil Hall. This meeting betokens the continuation of that effort of the working people of America, as it betokens the continued effort of the working people of Europe, who are determined that justice shall prevail. There is no man who realizes the consequences of struggle and contest and strife, but who seeks peace and loves peace. It is because the trade unionists, the men and women of labor, are required to bear the brunt of contest, both internationally and industrially, that their efforts are devoted to the establishment of peace.

We realize, however, that the declaration for peace is meaningless unless it is peace founded upon the principles of justice and right. War to us is, as it has been described by our dear friend and comrade, Brother McNeil, in the resolutions which he read to us, — war to us is hell, and one of the masters in the art of war coined that phrase which will live in the memories of men so long as the spirit of right and justice and the desire for human welfare shall prevail; war, with all its attendant horrors and brutalities, calling forth all that is base in our natures, stimulating the brute that is in man, giving an exhibition to the world of all that is hateful in our dispositions, and subordinating every impulse of humanity; war, with the countless millions of men

sent to untimely graves, and the countless widows and orphans left in its wake; war, which brings together men of different countries, who know not the color of the eye of their supposed foe, who bear them no malice or ill-will, in deadly array and urged on to their mutual destruction.

It is enough to make the heart grow sick to think that in this year of grace, 1904, with all our supposed civilization and progress, we are yet confronted with war, and with wars that may yet come. War is now a blot upon the escutcheon of any country claiming to be aligned with those calling themselves civilized. The wars of nations upon nations have been seldom conducted for the maintenance of the establishment of a principle of justice or right. Greed and avarice and aggrandizement, the lust of power and wealth, are the incentives to war, and have been the incentives from time immemorial. Call it by what other name any one may please, give it the gilding of valor and courage and heroism, in the last analysis it is nothing but international murder. And because we are opposed to war, we utilize every opportunity at our command, and create opportunities where none exist, so that the enlightened conscience of the people shall reach that acme of advancement that the nation which shall wantonly go to war, or provoke war, shall be an outcast in the civilization of the world.

We, as workingmen and working women, who have at least manifested enough intelligence to try to safeguard and protect our interest and undertake to advance and promote it,—we not only realize that there is war and that wars are imminent daily between nations, but we know also that the great army of labor is usually called in to make the fighting forces of the nations, that, in the sum total, the largest number of men who fight the battles and are called upon to sacrifice their lives come from the mill and the mine and the workshop and the field of labor.

We not only realize the wrong of international strife and war, but we also realize the fact that we are confronted often with industrial war. We cannot afford to ignore the industrial wars with which the working people are confronted. We know also that the greatest factor that makes for and insures, at least to some degree, international and industrial peace, is the organization of the working people. There will be less and less of the industrial wars in the same ratio that the working people join the unions of their trades. The entwining of their hearts and interests with their fellows in these unions will make for absolute and universal peace.

While many of our friends engaged in the effort to secure peace between the nations of the earth are prompted by serious motives and purposes, and their work is appreciated to the fullest by the men engaged in the labor movement of the world, yet I think I can say without fear of successful contradiction that the greatest element that will make for the abolition of international war will be the organization of the forces of labor internationally. When the workers of all lands shall be so thoroughly organized and united and federated that the same heart throb will be felt by each and all alike, then those who may want to provoke wars will find themselves minus the men who would make the soldiers. The international organizations of labor with their fraternal delegates, with the larger view of the attitude which each man

ought to hold to his fellow man, will go to make up a bond of unity, a bond of fraternity that will make powerfully for the peace of the world.

In that hope, with that object before us, let us work in order that to-day may be a step in advance of yesterday, and that to-morrow and the next day may be still further steps toward the goal of universal peace and brotherhood for men and women who will give the very best efforts of which they are capable. In that spirit and in that hope this meeting will do much to accelerate it.

The Responsibilities and Duties of Women in the Cause of Peace.

Address of the Baroness Von Suttner at the Peace Congress at Boston, October 5, 1904.

Mrs. President and my dear American Sisters and Brothers: I have been requested to speak of the responsibilities and duties of women in this cause. I have been very deeply impressed by various things that I have heard and seen in the short stay that I have had in America—very short, for I arrived only this morning after a journey of twelve days from my own country. Still, what I have heard and seen has so deeply impressed me that I cannot restrain the desire of giving some expression to it.

This country is the cradle of the peace movement. I knew it long ago, but what I begin to realize now is to what depth and height it has grown among you, to what breadth it is expanding. Its work is fervently done on moral grounds and on scientific grounds by prominent men and earnest women. The women, especially, form a feature peculiar to you, for on the European continent the work of the women in the peace movement is not so strong as here. It is often, I might say, very weak. I have not found that on the platform where women unite to fight for their rights and for their ideals, the peace cause has been made so prominent as it has here. The International Council of Women have made this the chief subject of their propaganda, but that Council was founded in America and by an American woman. I am sorry the president of the Council, who was to have been here, is absent, and I wish to send her, from our assembly, the expression of our regret not to have her here and of our esteem for her work.

At the great congress in Berlin last June, a whole session was devoted to the peace cause, but this was not the work of the European society. It was the work, again, of our dear Mrs. Sewall. You know by the reports what a great sensation she produced, owing to her peculiar charm and the eloquence with which she pleaded for the noble cause that ought to be the bond between our sex over the whole world,—ought to be but is not, I am sorry to say, nor can we well expect it to be. Women represent the half of mankind, and certainly are quite as divided in their opinions and in their abilities as the other half, though women, certainly more than men, are prone to detest war and to be afraid of it. But there is a great deal between the detesting of a thing and the wish and endeavor to eradicate it.

Then there is the belief that the thing must be, that war is a necessity, though a dire necessity, that it is founded in the struggle of nature. This belief, which is